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the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (Dholuo *simbi*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbi* age-mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*awa*) and father's sister (*awya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

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857 and is an imitation taking place even among children
868 who do not see grinding stones in use. It is therefore like a vanishing feature of a culture surviving in the form of children's play activity. Leaves of plants or trees are put into a broken piece of pot (*balatago*) with a little water to represent either meat, fish or green vegetables in the process of being cooked. Small dried branches may be used to represent the fire, but actual fire is not used at this early stage. These are mainly make-believe activities in which the children persuade themselves that they are doing real things.

In the rather advanced activities the younger act as servants to the older children, who send them here and there to fetch the necessary articles and also instruct them to keep the supposed fire burning. Between the ages of six and nine, female children, as I have already mentioned, use real things in imitating the preparation of food. Thus, during the mother's absence nurses and other older children may take corn or flour, water and salt, to be made into porridge (kuon). They may also tear off a portion of fish or meat to be cooked in the play huts, which are generally constructed in some hidden place behind the village. Nevertheless, the vessels used are still merely broken pieces of pottery.

The play shelters themselves are small enclosures made of leafy branches. Having used the huts for several days the children abandon them or set fire to them, and there are occasions when actual houses have
[861] [858] been set on fire during the absence of the grown-ups. If this happens, nothing is done to the children, for children are everywhere considered to be 'foolish' and capable of any mischief.

[524] Sometimes millet is boiled in old small tins or broken pots. On the whole, the method of cooking is extremely crude, nevertheless, it is significant in that it shows the

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857 sometimes break up at the slightest provocation or mis-
572 understanding. The lineal character of the friendship is
[613] facilitated by the social groupings of the people into lineages living side by side. This character is also assumed by the play groups which begin from the immediate family circle and widen to include other members of the lineage to which the children belong. Although there also exists a considerable degree of friendship among male children it does not seem to be organized as closely as that among the girls. Though I saw frequent examples of individual boyhood friendship I did not come across such a highly-developed arrangement.

The Cultural Pattern

857 Girls are born to a ready-made pattern of life and
858 they are forced to follow this pattern from earliest childhood. The school-age period is the one in which girls are especially trained to fit into the culture to which
[177] they have been born. A woman's life therefore tends to show great conservatism even where civilizing influences have considerably penetrated. This conservatism is maintained through all the early training of the children and domestic activities are still carried on in almost the same traditional way.

In contrast, we find that male children between these ages have a greater degree of freedom. I noticed a larger variety of playthings among boys than among girls of the same school-going age. Day after day the girls repeated imitations of the maternal activities. It was also much more difficult to discover where a group of boys had been playing than to find the favourite playgrounds of the female children. This was perhaps due to the difference in their freedom of movement. The occupations of the girls keep them largely at home while the boys range over a much greater area.

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512 462 264 [853] [356] *Daily rhythm of family duties.* The daily programme of a mother with a young child is divided into two major phases, corresponding with the morning and the evening meals. In the morning the activities include the preparation of gruel for the child, preceded by suckling it and sweeping the house. When prepared, the gruel is left with a nurse, to be given to the child when it cries. The mother then goes to the field or to any major work of the day. Preparation of the morning meal begins at about 9 a.m., and by 10 a.m. the family disperses again, the men perhaps to herd cattle or to go to market, and the women to fetch firewood or bring water from the river.

[178] The idea of having a meal freshly prepared in the morning is of recent origin. In the past, people ate cold food preserved from the previous evening meal. A great proportion of what is eaten during the week comes from the gardens.

[178] In former days, women were expected to prepare an afternoon gruel for their husbands at about 3 p.m. This is still the custom in some families, but modern women are quite ignorant of the practice in its traditional form.

• 858 613 *The social attitude towards male and female children.* The difference in the social attitude towards male and female children arises from considering them in relation to the future of the lineage to which they belong. A male child is looked upon as a dynamic element in the lineal structure. On the other hand, a female child, though a potential source of wealth, is regarded as an exporter of fertility from her parents' lineage to the lineage of her husband. Thus, if she becomes the mother [842] of many children, her larger numbers are looked upon [593] with disfavour as taking something away from her original family. This results in a superstitious feeling which affects her visits to the parental home.

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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

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The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

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In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

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Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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